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PUBLIC CLAMOURS
TRACED TO
THEIR ORIGINAL SOURCES:
AND
THE ADVANTAGE
OF
A MAN'S BEING BORN HERE, OR
THERE, DISCUSSED.

By a Briton.



L O N D O N:
Printed for G. KEARSLEY, at the GOLDEN LION,
in Ludgate Street.
MDCCLXI.

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By a Poet.

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A S the principal leading men in
every country, find the surest
means to establish their authority,
and to effect important purposes, to be by
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their

their favour; we have always observed them to be solicitous to gain this great point. In the ages of antiquity this was effected by haranguing the populace: when the best, or often the present orator, captivating their audience by the flowers of eloquence, and a plausible representation of matters, led the admiring croud to the execution of any Purpose to which they were then animated. Hence may we derive many of these strange events which are transmitted down to us by historians, and which are read without obtaining credit. Circumstances are indeed changed; for by that useful invention, the Printing Press, the public is now addressed and appealed to in a manner which extends the knowledge of the matters communicated to them, far beyond the reach of oratorical influence. The orator addressed

one assembly, the writer can address whole nations! and one material advantage results from the present method of communicating ideas, compared with the antient; which is, that whereas the orator could by artful methods inflame the passions of his audience, and by striking while the iron was hot, effect his purpose while the people were dazzled with the glare of the colours, true or false, which he gave his objects;—now that we peruse a discourse in our closets, and have cool leisure to examine into the views of a writer, and the truth and strength of his arguments; we are not hurried along by delusive sounds, nor infected with an intoxicating impetuosity. If we are deceived now, when every channel of intelligence is open for us, and our understandings free to investigate every thing

thing addressed to them, the fault is our own. The ancients were therefore more impelled by the passions; — the moderns are therefore more guided by reason.

Hence may be conceived the damage which is liable to accrue from calumnies transmitted from hand to hand without due investigation: people are in general too fond of scandal, especially against great men, and therefore never lessen the reports they transmit to others. On the contrary, doubts are soon augmented to certainties; suspicions, to positive accusations; particular observations, to general reflections; private whispers, to public outcries; and every advantage which falsehood and virulence can supply, are never withheld to the spoiling a good story. The detriment resulting from

this

this vicious gratification of ill-nature, is not always limited to the objects of popular resentment: for, if general discontent operates to the removing worthy men from the administration, (and the chance of calumny against the worthy, is hardly less than that of just anger against the unworthy) the blow thereby rebounds with increased violence back upon those who gave it.

Convinced of the truth of what is here advanced, the present writer takes the opportunity of some late indecent behaviour of the commonalty, to endeavour at correcting popular clamours, by a calm dispassionate appeal to the understandings of the intelligent part of his countrymen: under the knowledge that, though they may happen to be too precipitate and implicit in the acknowledgements

ledgements of their esteem and the expressions of their disapprobation, they are nevertheless ready to rectify their conduct upon better information. Whether the pamphlet before them contains any such, is submitted to the perusers of it.

The love of our country is one of the noblest passions which can actuate the breast of man. But while I affirm this, I am far from intending to mean such mad offensive heroism which we admire in the early Romans: rather, indeed, to be admired than altogether to be imitated. I include in my idea of public virtue, all the integrity, all the resolution, but more judgement, than we meet with in the Horatii, in Brutus, in the Gracchi, in
Regulus,

Regulus, and many others, which appear conspicuous, like blazing stars, in the Roman history. Such men, nevertheless, appeared in character: they were truly great men according to the principles of the times in which they lived; but far from meriting imitation in these more pacific, because more rational, ages. Love to our own country is consistent with a generous regard for mankind in general. The true rational hero, while he is fired with a noble ardour for the preservation of the native rights and immunities of his countrymen in particular; will, with a becoming generosity, be solicitous for the welfare of mankind in general.

Self

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to
 wake, *As the small pebble stirs the peaceful
 lake;*
 The centre mov'd, a circle strait succeeds,
 Another still, and still another spreads:
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will
 embrace;
 His country next, and next all human
 race.

He will never wish nor intend detriment
 to the natives of other places, farther than
 they interfere with the welfare of his own
 nation; nor this, farther than his country-
 men have justice of their side. Thus far,
 Britons, is the writer who now engages
 your attention a patriot: but——not
 a step farther! He would assist in defending
 you,

you in a just cause while his veins afford
a drop of blood; but he will not adopt
your absurd prejudices. It is about these
he now presumes to reason with you.

Whenever the public has any darling
point in view, whether it be the shooting
an Admiral; the revocation of public
treaties, in virtue of which we prosecute
a successful war; whether it be the dei-
fying a favourite of their own, or the
hunting down a favourite of the throne;
the purpose is sanctified by insisting on
the hackneyed maxim, *Vox populi vox Dei*:
a compliment they never fail to ascribe
to prevailing opinions. But while they
thus think they are pursuing the inten-
tions of the Deity, and stimulate their
impetuosity, by flattering themselves that
they

they act by commission, as the agents of Providence; let it for once be hinted to them, however it may shock their consequence, that *Vox populi vox fationis*, is sometimes, though not always, as good Latin as the former. Let them understand, that they too often suffer themselves to be led by a specious appearance of patriotism to eccho the cries raised by venal emissaries, garretteer scribblers, or needy engravers: who, destitute of any laudable principles of action, destitute of either loyalty, or perhaps of disaffection of their own, wait only to snatch every political occurrence as it arises: and, according as the probability of success inclines them, either to applaud or satyrize for present Profit. *Ad utrumque paratus,* they

they are equally adroit with either white-wash or blacking, and are always sure to find volunteer labourers ever ready to daub with the materials they furnish;

Thus are calumnies propagated; and thus the mob of coffee house politicians veer about, just as they are steered by some professed writer; who, without knowledge in any useful art or science, without honour or integrity, has merely abilities to scatter the dirt of abuse on any who obtain public notice sufficient to make a pamphlet sell: or by some bungling engraver, who, not having skill sufficient to finish a tolerable copper-plate, applies himself to scratching ridiculous outlines, in whose audacious implications consist all their pretensions to notice.

Such

Such, Britons, are the Patriots who, almost unknown to yourselves, so often twirl about the vanes of your imaginations, and cause them to point to what quarter of the political compass they judge convenient for their own pecuniary views. Thus are you taught to approve or to censure measures, the propriety of which is not perhaps always evident to public notice. Thus are you influenced to call one officer of state by hard names, and to make a darling of another, without data sufficiently authenticated to justify your precipitate conclusions. And thus are you frequently guided to change the premature opinion of yesterday, for as hasty a determination to day.

Of the truth of this censure you are all sensible; that is, you will own it as individuals,

duals, when you are talking of the people in general : unconscious that yourselves make up that collective body of whom ye speak : and are hurried away at times by the epidemical madness which you condemn. Every subject of contest, has very different lights in which it may be viewed ; and a correct judgment cannot be formed of any thing without it is examined in every light which it can be shifted into. This however supposes a coolness, which, on receiving first impressions, Britons cannot always boast ; nor acquire, till after successive mistakes. They view a subject on that side which first strikes them, with so much eagerness, that they are blind to any other prospect for the time ; till they are tired, and then novelty inclines them to change.

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It is with uneasiness that I expose the frequent sources of public opinions; but with great pleasure, could I hope that these hints would serve in any degree to render my countrymen more circumspect and less violent in their approbations and disgusts. But, if daily experience will not inculcate the expediency of moderation, it can scarcely be expected that anonymous remonstrances will be more efficacious.

But to write no more at large on general hints, I will now descend to the particular aim of this address: not in the capacity of a dictator to your judgments, but as if I were smoking a sociable pipe among some friends in a chimney corner.

And

And first, I wish from my heart I could convince you of the absurdity of fixing national stigmas upon mankind, which is actually behaving like children; and which becomes more criminal, the more important the occasions are when you descend to cast such mean invidious reflections. What! shall a man be treated with opprobrious language, shall he be considered in a despicable light, merely from the circumstance of a ridge of mountains, or a river, dividing the places where we were born? Does a man's bodily abilities, his mental faculties, or his moral principles, depend on his drawing his first breath in this place or that, respecting some esteemed local boundary of all these qualities? None of us all, who profess to act from reasonable deductions, will

will answer in the affirmative to these interrogations. Why then must French, Swiss, Irish, and even your native islanders the Welch and Scots, be mortified by receiving unhospitable insults, destitute of the least reasonable foundation? Is this behaving consistent with that noble character which, on the contrary, you arrogate to yourselves? or do you hope, by a Tartarian kind of policy, to add to your own national reputation, all that you can detract from that of others?

I have as great a value for my country as the most zealous of you all; but I will not run a tilt, I will not abuse, sneer, or fight with every man, the latitude and longitude of whose birth-place differ from my own, unless

less it can first be demonstrated, that knaves are produced in one particular spot, and fools in another; and that I am born under the meridian of the contrary good qualities. Let this be made evident, let me be furnished with a general indemnity, and I will then knock down every designing foreigner, every rascally Scotfman, every blundering Irishman, and every proud Welchman, that I can obtain that advantage over; to rid my country of such vermin: but—I follow you too far; it is time rather to endeavour making you sensible of your mistaken apprehensions on this head.

It would be great, it would be generous, it would be politic in you to discourage all licentious affronts toward such who pay us
the

the compliment of preferring a dwelling in England, to a continuance in their native habitations. This is a propensity which it is your real interest to encourage; since the greater the confluence of people to our plentiful country, the more plentiful it is rendered; and since it is chiefly the industrious and enterprising who leave their distant homes to sojourn with us, to put their hands to the employments they can get engaged in among us, attracted by the prospect of advantage. And are not active geniusses and industrious hands valuable acquisitions to any country? Far from impoverishing us, the means of subsistence increase in proportion to the attention and number of hands applied to those objects.

Again:

Again: You are apt to view foreigners with an evil eye, and to consider them as interlopers with a reference to the place from whence they came. But this is another absurdity; for it is immaterial, as I hinted before, where a person first draws his breath: a man is to all intents and purposes an Englishman, who pitches his tent among us, and who by that act subscribes his conformity to, and claims the benefit of, the English laws and mode of government. We are, earlier or later, all of us the descendants of foreigners, and are in duty bound to afford that protection to others which we ourselves, or our ancestors, have already reaped the benefit of. I would not have you think you are now reading the sly insinuations of some Irish or Scotsman; no, countrymen!

I can truly call you by that name, I am not only an Englishman, but a native of your metropolis, and the son of natives; unbribed and uninfluenced by any other motive than a consciousness of the propriety of my advice, and of the integrity of my intentions.—*Let brotherly love continue.*

All narrow national attachments are unbefitting freeborn Englishmen, the patrons of Liberty: yet even according to such principles, whatever may be your misjudged antipathy to absolute foreigners, separated from you by the circumfluent ocean; yet, *whom God hath joined let no man put asunder*; why should you maintain preposterous barriers among yourselves? why should you strive to perpetuate contrary jarring interests, wisely

wisely incorporated together by two sister nations, whom nature intended for one? Sensible, as I am, that many hot-headed bigots to their own confined ways of thinking, may here shake their heads, call names, and rave, I will nevertheless dare to avow what present conviction persuades me to be the truth.

A small acquaintance with history will inform any one, what long, bloody and frivolous contests were continually maintained on the borders, while this island continued under the dominion of two rival governments; in times now happily over. We hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars; but we only hear of them:—far from our peaceful coasts does the vengeful sword continue its

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never

never ceasing carnage! quiet at home, our brave soldiers, and our gallant sailors, drive the insulting foe farther and farther from our happy shores. Are we therefore restless, that we strive to excite discontents among ourselves? and do we yearn for a revival of the times of the Henries and James's?—

No! but we do not like to see Scotsmen promoted to places of trust and power:—Still harping upon national distinctions! Have not any of the inhabitants of Great Britain an indiscriminate right to enjoy the beams of royal favour, in proportion as their talents are esteemed adequate to the trusts reposed in them? This cannot be contested. Is it more proper that a local distinction of birth-places should be regarded, than that a personal estimation of abilities and integrity should

should be attended to? who will answer yes? if any person will, may it not be farther necessary that all employments of state be restricted to the possession of persons born in the metropolis? I am sure I ought to say yes, since I may then stand a chance to become a great man myself. I might then raise a cry against one gentleman because he is a west-countryman; and against another because he is a north of England man; and even deny an inhabitant of Hampstead or Highgate to have a right of participation. This might be good sport, but it would, notwithstanding, be exceeding bad policy, equally ridiculous with that which is the occasion of these remarks.

Whenever any native of the remoter quarters of the British empire obtains the approbation and favour of his sovereign, every low engine is employed to excite a discontent among the people; every vulgar national reflection is applied with the most odious allusions and insinuations; with the greatest disrespect to that high authority which made the choice, and with the greatest disregard to all decency and due decorum! Every coffee-house echoes with trite vulgar sneers at our brother subjects; despicable attempts at scandalous wit flutter in the wind at every pamphlet-stall; and every print-shop exhibits its stimulatives to such illiberal behaviour. But has not a m——ch a right to chuse for his servants such whom he esteems qualified to execute the important

tant trusts to which he appoints them?
 is it decent to pass precipitate censures be-
 fore experience shall authorize your dis-
 like? Has not every part of the British
 dominions a reasonable expectation of some
 share of royal confidence being reposed in
 its inhabitants, whenever any such appear
 deserving employment? Is it not usual
 with men who obtain great power them-
 selves, to serve their friends, by putting
 them into such places as fall to their dispo-
 sal? which is seldom taken ill where such
 promotions are not attended with any un-
 fair circumstances. Is it then from these
 premises to be wondered at, if we find that
 natives of very different districts are in turn
 seen in the public departments? and what
 reasonable cause of discontent can you alledge
 on

on this account? are you fearful that such or such a country cannot produce persons equal to public business, and that your affairs may suffer in their hands? you cannot be so weak; good sense is the freest gift of heaven, and even prejudice must own that neither Irish, Welch, nor Scotsmen, in point of abilities, or integrity, stand nationally impeached in historical records, or appear to disadvantage at the present day.

We have in a great measure outlived the fury of party distinctions; mankind grow more moderate in consequence of a greater enlargement of ideas, and openness of mind: but designing emissaries take advantage of every political event to revive dor-

mant

mant vices; to kindle passions which ought never to be excited but on the most justifiable occasions; and thus make us the tools to effect their own covert self-interested schemes. But——*from all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion;—good Lord deliver us.*

The absurd principles of Jacobitism have died away with the old deluded maintainers of disaffection. Principles which abetted the schemes of pensioners to the court of Rome, yet at the same time fondly endeavoured to persuade us that the reformed religion would remain inviolate under the guardianship of partisans to the Roman Pontiff! Bigots to tyranny! such self-confuting principles could
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subsist no longer than an attachment to particular persons remained: too gross to impose on the intelligent part of mankind. Those tenets are all, literally speaking, now in the grave.

Requiescant in pace.

To the joy of every sober thinking person, the furious religious distinctions of Whig and Tory are now heard of no more. We cease to knock each other down in the street for God's sake, the Shibboleth of High Church and Low Church are, happily for the peace of society, now forgotten: and as a Christian moderation evidently takes place among all persuasions, we may soon hope to see the most considerable bodies of

British

British dissenters unite with a lenitive establishment. An association, as it would be highly expedient, so is it not at all improbable. For as party zeal decays, true religion will operate more freely, and with greater profit to mankind. The Essence of Christianity will then be attended to, rather than unmeaning prejudicial distinctions, subversive of its evident tendency: and instead of disputing about the old incoherent creed of a factious ignorant bishop, about forms of prayer, the cut of a priest's garment, or the button and brim of a man's hat, we shall contend only in the mutual exercise of love and good works.

Amidst all this laudable disposition to unanimity, let not any among us be found

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such

such enemies to their country as to be unwilling to farther these patriotic inclinations. As we live under a British King, let Britons scorn all partial odious distinctions among each other, productive only of mutual jealousies and animosities. Let not the union between the two kingdoms resemble an unhappy marriage, where continual bickerings destroy that good understanding, which the intention of the connexion was to promote.

Let the names of England and Scotland serve only for geographical divisions of the island; implying no more than the names of the several counties. Let mutual harmony and trust beget mutual confidence: Let us form our judgments of men from their

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intrinsic merit or demerit, and rejoice when we find ministers whose talents and integrity justify the appointment of the monarch, and effect the security and prosperity of the kingdom.

Premature reflections, and groundless reproaches, though they may be despised by superior understandings, yet, beside their unjustifiableness, they are rather discouragements to those on whom they are cast, and are more likely to foment heart burnings than to conciliate affections and prove incentives to virtue.



N. B. Though the following anecdote has no relation to the subject of the foregoing pages; yet it may not be altogether impertinent to introduce a letter, which I received from my printer, with the proof of the former half sheet; especially since as he prints it himself, it is evidently not done without his permission.

S I M I L SIR,

SIR,

WE want some more copy: what we have already set, falls far short of our expectations. People will not like to give a shilling for five loose printed half sheets, therefore it would be better if you could say something more on the subject to make out another half sheet, for I cannot bump it out any more. The compositor stands still.

Your most obedient,

Now though in point of authorship there may be some truth in this epistle, yet I

am

am so little versed in the arts of composition, that I am ignorant of the skill of wire-drawing my thoughts to fill a proposed number of pages. I have unboasted myself; have nothing more to urge at present, and cannot think of using a greater number of words than my natural train of thinking dictates. The openness in the print of this pamphlet will suit the eyes of the elderly, in whom prejudice is more strongly rooted, and whom I would therefore be glad to engage for my readers. The price is fixed at a shilling, because as I do not write on a subject which I am quite sure will be generally pleasing, I am willing to secure myself

from

from being a loser by my officiousness;
which may not be altogether so convenient
for me. But whether I am or am not, I
decline availing myself of the craft recom-
mended to me; and leave it to the exercise
of the author by profession.



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